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Interviews: **1018 adults**  
Date: **March 6-8, 2004**

Male	48
Female	52
[5]	

**FINAL**

Study #6042  
NBC News/Wall Street Journal  
March 2004

**Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.**

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**The margin of error for 1018 interviews is ±3.1%**

**Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.**

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<i>High</i> <u>9/01</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	41	47	56	41	43	38	42	72	14	[6]
Wrong track.....	49	43	30	48	47	50	44	11	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	5	6	9	8	6	8	9	11	9	
Not sure.....	5	4	5	3	3	4	4	6	6	
	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>		
	49	62	36	43	44	42	40	52		
	38	22	47	42	42	43	42	31		
	8	13	14	13	14	12	14	14		
	5	3	3	2	-	3	4	3		
	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>		
	53	62	70	72	43	47	52	45		
	28	20	15	11	39	39	32	36		
	15	14	12	11	14	11	11	15		
	4	4	3	6	4	3	5	4		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<i>High</i> <u>11/01</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>6/01</u>	[7]
Approve.....	50	54	58	52	51	49	88	50	
Disapprove.....	46	41	34	41	44	45	7	35	
Not sure.....	5	6	9	7	5	6	5	15	
				<u>3/29-</u> <u>7/03</u>	<u>30/03</u>	<u>3/23/03</u>	<u>3/17/03</u>		
	56	62	71	66	67	62			
	38	31	23	29	28	33			
	6	7	6	5	5	5			
	<u>2/03<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>			
	61	54	62	63	64	67			
	31	40	33	31	30	27			
	8	6	5	6	6	6			
	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u>			
	69	75	74	82	85	88			
	23	18	20	13	11	7			
	8	7	6	5	4	5			

<sup>1</sup> Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	[8]
Approve.....	45	49	48	50	43	45	48	
Disapprove.....	51	45	46	44	52	48	44	
Not sure.....	4	6	6	5	6	7	8	
	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	
	49	44	47	48	48	49	57	
	42	49	45	44	43	43	34	
	9	7	8	8	9	8	9	
	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>		
	61	63	63	50	51	52		
	30	27	25	38	33	27		
	9	10	12	12	16	21		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	[9]
Approve.....	47	54	56	48	48	47	55	63	
Disapprove.....	48	41	37	47	48	46	39	31	
Not sure.....	5	5	7	5	4	7	6	6	
	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>		
	70	51	57	58	55	62	64		
	24	42	36	35	34	28	28		
	6	7	7	7	11	10	8		
	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>			
	68	81	82	50	63	53			
	26	13	12	32	26	20			
	6	6	6	18	11	27			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2d. Looking ahead to next year's presidential election, do you feel George W. Bush deserves to be re-elected, or do you feel he does not deserve to be re-elected?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	[10]
Yes, deserves re-election.....	48	51	52	47	
No, does not deserve re-election.....	48	42	38	46	
Not sure.....	4	7	11	7	

3. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
<b>George W. Bush</b>							
March 2004.....	34	16	8	13	28	-	[11]
January 2004.....	38	17	8	13	24	-	
December 13, 2003.....	35	19	8	15	23	-	
November 2003.....	34	19	11	13	24	-	
September 2003.....	35	17	9	15	23	1	
July 2003.....	38	21	9	14	17	-	
May 2003.....	41	22	9	10	17	1	
January 2003.....	36	20	12	16	16	-	
December 2002.....	38	24	14	12	12	-	
October 2002+.....	37	24	11	12	15	1	
September 2002.....	38	25	14	11	12	-	
July 2002.....	40	26	11	11	12	-	
June 2002.....	43	27	11	10	9	-	
April 2002.....	47	25	13	8	7	-	
January 2002.....	53	26	10	7	4	-	
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001.....	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001.....	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
<i>Low</i>							
March 2000+.....	19	26	21	15	17	2	
<b>John Kerry</b>							
March 2004.....	15	27	20	13	17	8	[12]
January 2004.....	5	17	25	16	10	29	
December 13, 2003.....	3	18	20	13	11	36	
December 2002.....	5	14	25	8	5	43	
<b>The Catholic Church</b>							
March 2004.....	14	21	30	18	13	5	[13]
June 2002.....	8	14	23	23	27	5	
April 2002.....	9	15	30	21	21	4	
March 2000.....	23	24	33	9	5	6	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.3 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>John Edwards</b>							
March 2004 *	12	24	27	14	6	17	[14]
January 2004	4	12	24	8	6	45	
December 13, 2003	3	14	21	8	5	49	
<b>Dick Cheney</b>							
March 2004 *	17	22	18	14	22	6	[15]
December 13, 2003	18	24	14	13	23	8	
September 2003	21	25	16	14	18	7	
May 2003	24	23	18	10	14	10	
January 2003	20	27	23	12	13	5	
September 2002	23	27	21	12	12	5	
July 2002	24	28	19	10	13	6	
April 2002	27	29	22	8	10	4	
January 2002	32	30	21	6	5	6	
December 2001	36	27	23	3	6	5	
June 2001	26	22	22	14	11	5	
April 2001	31	21	22	10	9	7	
March 2001	30	26	22	8	6	8	
January 2001	23	26	26	9	7	9	
December 2000	23	26	22	10	11	8	
October 2000+	25	24	26	8	9	8	
<i>High</i>							
February 1991+	33	33	13	2	2	17	
<i>Low</i>							
July 2000+	19	23	26	9	6	17	
<b>Alan Greenspan</b>							
March 2004 **	15	30	28	7	7	13	[16]
September 2003	20	34	21	7	3	16	
June 2001	21	34	20	7	4	14	
April 2001	25	30	20	7	2	16	
March 2001	24	31	25	5	3	12	
January 2001	31	25	18	8	3	15	
April 2000+	23	28	22	6	4	17	
December 1998	23	24	23	4	2	24	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.3 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>Ralph Nader</b>							
March 2004 **.....	3	14	29	19	22	13	[17]
December 2000.....	8	23	30	15	13	11	
October 2000+.....	11	20	31	10	12	16	
September 2000+.....	12	20	27	14	13	14	
June 2000+.....	10	23	30	9	6	22	
April 2000+.....	9	19	31	12	8	21	
May 1996.....	14	23	28	9	6	20	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	86	[18]
No, not registered.....	14	
Not sure.....	-	

5. Using a ten-point scale, please tell me how likely you are to vote in this November's elections for president and Congress. If you are certain that you will vote, pick a number closer to "8," "9," or "10." If it is less likely that you will vote, use a number closer to "1," "2," or "3." You may choose any number from one to ten.

10, certain to vote.....	73	[19]
9.....	9	
8.....	8	
7.....	1	
6.....	1	
5.....	2	
4.....	-	
3.....	1	
2.....	1	
1, less likely to vote.....	4	
Cannot rate.....	1	

6a. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and John Kerry were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	
George W. Bush.....	47	54	49	55	48	[20]
John Kerry.....	45	35	34	27	31	
Depends (VOL).....	1	2	1	2	4	
Neither/other (VOL).....	3	3	6	6	3	
Not sure.....	4	6	9	11	14	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY BUSH OR KERRY IN Q.6a.)**

6b. Would you definitely vote for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.6a**), probably vote for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.6a**) but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.6a**)?

Definitely Bush.....	37	[22]
Probably Bush.....	6	
Just leaning toward Bush.....	4	
Bush -- not sure how likely.....	-	
Definitely Kerry.....	30	
Probably Kerry.....	8	
Just leaning toward Kerry.....	7	
Kerry -- not sure how likely.....	-	
Depends.....	1	
Neither/Other.....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY BUSH IN Q.6a.)**

7a. Using a scale from zero to ten, please tell me how important it is to you personally that George W. Bush be re-elected as president. On this scale, a "10" means it is extremely important to you that George W. Bush be re-elected as president, and "0" means it is not important to you at all.

10, extremely important.....	52	[23]
9.....	9	
8.....	14	
7.....	8	
6.....	4	
5.....	8	
4.....	1	
3.....	1	
2.....	1	
1.....	-	
0, not important at all.....	1	
Cannot rate.....	-	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY KERRY IN Q.6a.)**

7b. Using a scale from zero to ten, please tell me how important it is to you personally that George W. Bush be defeated in the election for president. On this scale, a "10" means it is extremely important to you that George W. Bush be defeated in the election for president, and "0" means it is not important to you at all.

10, extremely important.....	59	[24]
9.....	9	
8.....	10	
7.....	6	
6.....	4	
5.....	7	
4.....	-	
3.....	1	
2.....	-	
1.....	-	
0, not important at all.....	4	
Cannot rate.....	1	

8a. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate, John Kerry were running as the Democratic candidate, and Ralph Nader were running as an independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

George W. Bush.....	45	[25]
John Kerry.....	43	
Ralph Nader.....	5	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
None/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY BUSH, KERRY, OR NADER IN Q.8a.)**

8b. Would you definitely vote for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.8a**), probably vote for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.8a**) but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for (**CANDIDATE IN Q.8a**)?

Definitely Bush.....	37	[27]
Probably Bush.....	6	
Just leaning toward Bush.....	3	
Bush -- not sure how likely.....	-	
Definitely Kerry.....	29	
Probably Kerry.....	8	
Just leaning toward Kerry.....	6	
Kerry -- not sure how likely.....	-	
Definitely Nader.....	2	
Probably Nader.....	2	
Just leaning toward Nader.....	1	
Nader -- not sure how likely.....	-	
Depends.....	1	
Neither/Other.....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

9a. If the election for president were held today, and John Kerry and John Edwards were running as the Democratic candidates, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were running as the Republican candidates, and Ralph Nader were running as an independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

George W. Bush and Dick Cheney.....	45	[28]
John Kerry and John Edwards.....	45	
Ralph Nader.....	3	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
None/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

9b. If the election for president were held today, and John Kerry and Dick Gephardt were running as the Democratic candidates, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were running as the Republican candidates, and Ralph Nader were running as an independent candidate, for whom would you vote? \*

George W. Bush and Dick Cheney.....	46	[29]
John Kerry and Dick Gephardt.....	40	
Ralph Nader.....	5	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
None/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

9c. If the election for president were held today, and John Kerry and Hillary Clinton were running as the Democratic candidates, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were running as the Republican candidates, and Ralph Nader were running as an independent candidate, for whom would you vote? \*\*

George W. Bush and Dick Cheney.....	47	[30]
John Kerry and Hillary Clinton.....	44	
Ralph Nader.....	4	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
None/other (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

10. How much would you say you know about John Kerry and what he stands for—a lot, a fair amount, just some, or very little?

A lot.....	21	[31]
A fair amount.....	44	
Just some.....	18	
Very little.....	16	
Not sure.....	1	

11. Now I'm going to read you a list of items that some people say they like about John Kerry. Whether or not you plan to vote for John Kerry for president, which one or two of the following things do you like most about John Kerry? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose, which one or two would you pick?

His knowledge of issues and experience in government.....	37	[32]
His positions and stands on domestic issues.....	24	
His record as a war hero.....	19	
His views on the war in Iraq.....	18	
His personality and style.....	11	
None/other (VOL).....	15	
Not sure.....	7	

12. Now I'm going to read you a list of items that some people say concern them about John Kerry. Whether or not you plan to vote for John Kerry for president, which one or two of the following things do you like least about John Kerry? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose, which one or two would you pick?

His straddling both sides of issues.....	42	[33]
His being a Massachusetts liberal.....	21	
His views on the war in Iraq.....	19	
His personality and style.....	12	
His positions and stands on domestic issues.....	10	
None/other (VOL).....	12	
Not sure.....	8	

13. What is your preference for the outcome of next year's congressional elections—a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	41	42	42	43	42	43	42	44	[34]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	45	43	42	42	42	41	41	40	
Not sure <sup>2</sup> .....	13	15	16	15	16	16	17	16	
		<u>12/01</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	
		42	40	39	39	42	41	37	
		40	44	41	43	41	40	43	
		18	16	20	18	17	19	20	
		<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	
		41	40	41	39	37	41	40	
		43	39	40	40	41	37	42	
		16	21	19	21	22	22	18	
		<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94<sup>1</sup></u>	
		41	41	45	44	41	42	44	
		37	39	39	38	38	41	38	
		22	20	16	18	21	17	18	

<sup>1</sup> In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

<sup>2</sup> The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

14. Which of the following types of issues are the most important to you in choosing between the presidential candidates?

Economic issues, such as jobs and economic growth.....	36	[35]
Domestic issues, such as health and education.....	27	
National defense issues, such as Iraq and the war on terror.....	18	
Social issues, such as gun control and gay rights.....	9	
Foreign policy issues, such as the Middle East and Haiti.....	7	
Not sure.....	4	

15. Thinking about the war on terror, would you say that it is more important, equally important, or less important than it was in the months just after September 11?

More important.....	34	[36]
Equally important.....	49	
Less important.....	14	
Mixed (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

16. I'm going to read you a list of proposed laws and regulations, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you would favor or oppose that law or regulation. Would you favor or oppose (**READ ITEM**)?...

And on a scale from 0 to 10, where "10" is "extremely important" and "0" is "not at all important," how important would you say this issue is to you?

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE MEAN IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO EACH ITEM*

Mean	Extremely Important		Less Important		Cannot Rate	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
	10	8-9	0-7	-				
Laws canceling the recent tax cuts...	7.6	30	28	40	2	41	50	8 [47]
Tougher gun control laws.....	7.6	34	26	39	1	58	39	3 [41]
New regulations controlling sex and violence on TV and radio.....	7.5	36	22	42	-	68	29	2 [46]
Tougher restrictions on abortion.....	7.4	34	23	41	1	43	50	7 [39]
A constitutional amendment making it illegal for gay couples to marry.....	7.4	42	17	40	1	43	52	5 [40]
Stronger environmental regulations..	7.3	24	30	45	1	75	20	5 [42]
New laws making it easier for illegal immigrants to become legal workers	7.2	26	24	48	2	40	56	4 [44]
Laws eliminating affirmative action. .	6.7	19	19	56	6	41	43	15 [45]
More regulations to protect people who own stock in corporations.....	6.6	18	21	59	2	65	26	9 [43]

**Now I'd like to turn to foreign policy ...**

17. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

	3/04	1/04	12/14/03	12/13/03	11/03	9/03	
Should have taken military action.....	64	66	69	66	63	64	[48]
Should not have taken military action.....	32	29	26	30	34	33	
Not sure.....	4	5	5	4	3	4	
	7/03	5/03	4/03	3/17/03 <sup>1</sup>	2/03 <sup>2</sup>		
	69	71	76	65	60		
	27	24	17	30	27		
	5	5	7	5	13		
	1/03	12/02	10/02+	9/02	4/02 <sup>3</sup>		
	56	59	60	58	57		
	36	30	31	30	28		
	8	11	9	12	8		

<sup>1</sup>On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."

<sup>2</sup> Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

<sup>3</sup> In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

18. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	
Worth it.....	50	52	53	45	45	[49]
Not worth it.....	45	40	37	42	46	
Depends.....	1	2	5	6	3	
Not sure.....	4	5	5	6	5	

19. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view?

**Statement A:** American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

**Statement B:** American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time.

**Statement C:** American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/14/03</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
<b>Statement A/As soon as possible.....</b>	24	19	20	21	20	21	17	[50]
<b>Statement B/According to specified timetable, but within 18 months.....</b>	26	24	23	23	28	26	23	
<b>Statement C/As long as necessary, even if five years.....</b>	48	56	55	55	51	50	58	
Not sure.....	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	

20. Generally speaking, would you say the war in Iraq has gone better than you expected, worse than you expected, or about what you expected?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
Better than expected.....	16	25	[51]
Worse than expected.....	29	10	
About as expected.....	53	62	
Not sure.....	2	3	

21. Do you think Iraq will or will not be able to establish and maintain a stable, democratic government? \*

Be able to maintain stable, democratic government.....	46	[52]
Not be able to maintain stable, democratic government.....	41	
Mixed/Neither fully democratic or fully undemocratic (VOL).....	4	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	9	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

22. Do you think that Iraq did or did not have weapons of mass destruction before the war began last March?

	<u>3/04<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Did have weapons of mass destruction.....	57	63	70	[53]
Did not have weapons of mass destruction....	35	30	21	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	8	7	9	

<sup>1</sup>Prior to March 2004, the question was phrased, ". . . before the war in March?"

23. Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush exaggerated information to make the case for war with Iraq? \*\*

	<u>3/04**</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Gave the most accurate information he had.....	48	48	[54]
Exaggerated information to make the case for war.....	50	47	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	2	6	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24. Do you think President Bush gave the country the most accurate information he had before going to war with Iraq, or do you think President Bush deliberately misled people to make the case for war with Iraq? \*

Gave the most accurate information he had.....	52	[55]
Deliberately misled people to make the case for war....	42	
Depends/Not sure (VOL).....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**Turning to the economy . . .**

25. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	
Economy has gotten better.....	33	43	45	38	27	[56]
Economy has gotten worse.....	35	23	27	29	41	
Economy has stayed about the same.	31	34	27	31	30	
Not sure.....	1	1	1	1	2	
	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>3/92</u>
	23	18	6	7	17	6
	42	44	65	57	44	73
	34	36	28	35	38	20
	1	1	1	1	1	1
	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>
	2	3	6	8	9	11
	78	74	67	57	64	54
	19	22	26	33	26	35
	1	1	1	2	1	-
	<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>
	8	3	3	6	11	11
	64	73	72	57	37	36
	27	23	24	35	51	52
	1	1	1	2	1	1
	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
	12	12	12	15	18	
	30	30	29	34	23	
	56	56	57	49	57	
	2	2	2	2	2	

<sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

26. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>1/04</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	
Economy will get better.....	42	50	53	49	44	45	49	35	[57]
Economy will get worse.....	18	10	10	15	19	16	16	25	
Economy will stay about the same.....	36	37	33	33	33	34	32	37	
Not sure.....	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	
	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u> <sup>1</sup>	
	40	41	39	41	50	50	36	28	
	20	20	18	20	13	15	25	29	
	35	34	39	37	32	32	34	37	
	5	5	4	2	5	3	5	6	
	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
	17	19	19	21	20	24	31	31	
	24	22	22	21	21	23	17	24	
	54	53	57	52	54	50	46	40	
	5	6	2	6	5	3	6	5	
	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	
	28	28	27	29	44	43	21	23	
	24	17	21	16	16	19	27	24	
	44	52	49	52	36	34	50	51	
	4	3	3	3	4	4	2	2	
	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	
	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

<sup>1</sup>Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

27. There has been a lot of discussion about the condition of the U.S. economy recently. I would like to read five statements to you and have you tell me which one best represents your views about the economy and its future.

**Statement 1.** The economy is of serious concern and faces some fundamental, long-term problems because of the loss of jobs

**Statement 2.** The economy has been going through some very difficult times and transitions, but the long-term future for jobs is good

**Statement 3.** The economy has been going through some difficult times and transitions, and it's too early to know what the long-term future for jobs will be

**Statement 4.** The economy is getting better over all, but we are not going to be able to replace the high paying manufacturing jobs we have lost

**Statement 5.** The economy is growing again, and it will create a lot of new good jobs over the next few years

<b>Statement 1/Serious concern,</b> fundamental problems.....	24	[58]
<b>Statement 2/Difficult times,</b> long-term future good.....	14	
<b>Statement 3/Difficult times,</b> too early to tell future.....	31	
<b>Statement 4/Getting better, but not able</b> to replace manufacturing jobs.....	16	
<b>Statement 5/Growing again,</b> a lot of new good jobs.....	14	
Not sure.....	2	

28. Would you say that today, you are better off financially, worse off, or about the same as you were one year ago?

	3/04	12/13/03 <sup>1</sup>	12/02	12/98	12/97	
Better off.....	26	31	19	38	39	[59]
Worse off.....	23	25	31	11	12	
About the same.....	50	44	50	51	49	
Not sure.....	1	1	-	-	-	

<sup>1</sup>In December 2003, the question was phrased, "Would you say that today, at the end of 2003 . . . ."

29. When you think about the country's economic future, do you think of it primarily in terms of how economic conditions affect you and your family, or how they affect the country as a whole?

<b>How economic conditions affect you and</b> your family.....	29	[60]
<b>How economic conditions affect the</b> country as a whole.....	65	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	

30. I'm going to read you a list of elements of the U.S. economy that have been discussed a lot recently. For each one, please tell me how important this item is to you in your evaluation of the overall condition of the economy using a 0 to 10 scale, where 10 means "extremely important" and "0" means "not at all important." You may select any number from 0 to 10 for each item.

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE MEAN IMPORTANCE PLACED ON EACH ITEM  
IN EVALUATING THE ECONOMY*

	Mean	Extremely Important		Not At All Important		Cannot Rate	[ ]
		10	8-9	5-7	0-4		
The number of jobs moving overseas.....	7.8	43	23	23	11	1	[63]
Jobs for lower-paid workers that lack health and retirement benefits.....	7.6	35	24	31	9	1	[67]
Federal budget deficit.....	7.6	34	27	28	10	2	[62]
The Bush tax cuts.....	7.3	30	24	32	12	2	[64]
The number of low-priced foreign products coming into the country.....	6.7	23	21	38	17	1	[65]
The trade agreements the United States has entered into, such as NAFTA.....	6.7	18	20	42	12	7	[66]

31. Thinking about the list of economic elements I just read to you, which of the following statements best reflects your feelings about these economic items?

(a) These elements do not represent a problem today or in the future. America has the same economic security it always has had.....	4	[68]
(b) These elements represent the typical up-and-down cycle of the economy, and do not represent a long term problem for America.....	27	
(c) These elements represent less of a problem for today, but represent a potential long term problem for America.....	20	
(d) These elements represent a major problem today and in the future. America no longer has the same economic security it has had in the past.....	47	
Not sure.....	2	

32. Regardless of how you feel about the current state of the economy, please tell me how much you think the country's current economic situation is due to the policies of the Bush Administration--would you say they are mainly responsible, partially responsible, not really responsible, or not at all responsible for the current state of the economy?

Mainly responsible.....	30	[69]
Partially responsible.....	50	
Not really responsible.....	15	
Not at all responsible.....	6	
Not sure.....	-	

33. Do you think that the federal tax cuts that have been passed since 2001 and that have taken effect so far have helped the economy, hurt the economy, or had no real effect on the economy?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>5/03<sup>1</sup></u>	
Helped the economy.....	38	25	[70]
Hurt the economy.....	23	15	
Had no real effect on the economy.....	36	53	
Depends/mixed/some of each (VOL).....	1	1	
Not sure.....	3	6	

<sup>1</sup>In May 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the federal tax cuts that were passed in 2001 . . ."

34. When it comes to federal taxes, which of the following two statements do you agree with more?

**Statement A.** The recent federal tax cuts were too large. We need to keep the tax cuts for middle class Americans, but repeal the tax cuts for people with incomes above \$200,000 per year to help pay for health care and education.

**Statement B.** The recent federal tax cuts were the right size. We need to keep the tax cuts for all Americans and make them permanent, rather than let them expire, in order to make the economy strong.

<b>Statement A</b> /Tax cuts too large; repeal for those above \$200,000.....	55	[71]
<b>Statement B</b> /Tax cuts right size; keep all and make permanent.....	39	
Tax cuts too small (VOL).....	1	
Depends/mixed/some of each (VOL).....	-	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Don't know/Not sure.....	2	

I'd like to turn briefly now to a few other subjects . . .

35. As you may know, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan recently told congressional lawmakers that Social Security benefits for younger workers might need to be cut by the end of the decade in order to control the costs of the Social Security program. In response, many lawmakers strongly disagreed. Based on what you have read or heard, would you say that Social Security benefits will need to be cut in the future, or that they will not need to be cut in the future?

Social Security benefits will need to be cut in the future.....	34	[72]
Social Security benefits will not need to be cut in the future.....	59	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

36. If Social Security needs to be reformed, which party do you think would do a better job – the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

Democratic Party.....	35	[73]
Republican Party.....	22	
Both about the same.....	26	
Neither.....	15	
Not sure.....	2	
<i>Party Advantage.....</i>	<i>D-13</i>	

**On another subject ...**

37. Would you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples who are willing to make a life-long commitment through a legal contract to receive the same rights and benefits that heterosexual couples receive?

	<u>3/04*</u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	
Favor same rights and benefits for gay and lesbian couples.....	46	43	[74]
Oppose same rights and benefits for gay and lesbian couples.....	47	44	
Depends (VOL).....	3	4	
Not sure .....	4	8	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

38. Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages? (**IF "FAVOR" OR "OPPOSE," ASK:**) Would you say that you strongly (favor/oppose), or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?

	<u>3/04<sup>**</sup></u>	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
<b>Favor Allowing Same-Sex Marriages</b>	<b>30</b>	{32}	{32}	
Strongly favor.....	18			[75]
Somewhat favor.....	12			
<b>Oppose Allowing Same-Sex Marriages</b>	<b>62</b>	{56}	{51}	
Somewhat oppose.....	10			
Strongly oppose.....	51			
Depends (VOL).....	3	2	4	
Not sure.....	5	9	13	

<sup>1</sup>Prior to March 2004, the question was phrased, "Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?"

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

39. Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment that defined marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and made same-sex marriages unconstitutional? (**IF "FAVOR" OR "OPPOSE," ASK:**) Would you say that you strongly (favor/oppose), or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?

	<u>3/04</u>	<u>12/13/03<sup>1</sup></u>	
<b>Favor Constitutional Amendment</b>	<b>54</b>	{48}	
Strongly favor.....	47		[76]
Somewhat favor.....	7		
<b>Oppose Constitutional Amendment</b>	<b>42</b>	{44}	
Somewhat oppose.....	11		
Strongly oppose.....	31		
Depends (VOL).....	1	2	
Not sure.....	3	6	

<sup>1</sup>In December 2003, the question was phrased, "Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment that defined marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and made same-sex marriages unconstitutional?"

40. As you may know, there is a proposal in Congress to amend the U.S. Constitution to make same-sex marriages illegal.

**Supporters** of this proposed amendment say that it is a serious attempt to address the issue of gay marriage.

**Opponents** of this proposed amendment say that it is being promoted only for political, election-year purposes.

Whom do you agree with more—supporters of the amendment, or opponents of the amendment? \*

Agree with supporters who say it is serious attempt.....	42	[77]
Agree with opponents who say it is for political purposes.....	50	
Both/Mixed (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**Getting toward the end of the survey. ...**

41. Do you approve or do you disapprove of President Bush's decision to deploy U.S. Marines to Haiti as part of an international force to help restore order following the resignation of Haiti's president? \*\*

Approve President Bush deploying Marines in Haiti.....	67	[78]
Disapprove President Bush deploying Marines in Haiti.....	28	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

42. How important will the presidential candidates' military records during the Vietnam War be to you as you decide whom to vote for—very important, just somewhat important, not really important, or not at all important?

Very important.....	13	[79]
Just somewhat important.....	24	
Not really important.....	26	
Not at all important.....	36	
Not sure.....	1	

**FACTUALS: Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager.....	27	[80]
White-collar worker.....	16	
Blue-collar worker.....	18	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	2	
Homemaker.....	7	
Retired.....	20	
Unemployed, looking for work.....	6	
Other.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F2. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	7	50-54.....	10	[81]
25-29.....	9	55-59.....	8	
30-34.....	9	60-64.....	7	
35-39.....	9	65-69.....	5	
40-44.....	11	70-74.....	5	
45-49.....	11	75 and over.....	7	
		Refused.....	-	

F3. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[82]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	23	
Some college, no degree.....	17	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	10	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	25	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree....	11	
Doctoral/law degree.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F4. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN." IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	21	[83]
Not very strong Democrat.....	10	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	10	
Strictly independent.....	13	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not very strong Republican.....	8	
Strong Republican.....	21	
Other.....	5	
Not sure/nothing.....	3	

F5. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	19	[84]
Moderate.....	41	
Conservative.....	37	
Not sure.....	3	

F6. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	18	[85]
Married.....	59	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	8	
Divorced.....	13	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F7a. Which of the following would you use to describe yourself—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, agnostic, or none of these?

Protestant.....	36	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[86]</b>
Catholic.....	27		
Jewish.....	1	<b>Skip to Q.F7c</b>	
Muslim.....	-		
<u>Atheist/agnostic</u> .....	5		
<u>None of these</u> .....	28	<b>CONTINUE</b>	
Not sure.....	1		
Refused.....	2	<b>Skip to Q.F7c</b>	

**(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID "PROTESTANT," "NONE OF THESE," OR "NOT SURE," IN Q.F7a.)**

F7b. And would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/Evangelical.....	19	<b>[87]</b>	
Protestant, Not Fundamentalist/ Evangelical..	16		
Protestant, Not Sure/Refused			
Fundamentalist, Evangelical.....	6		
Catholic (Q.F7a).....	27		
Jewish (Q.F7a).....	1		
Muslim (Q.F7a).....	-		
Atheist/agnostic (Q.F7a).....	5		
None of these.....	23		
Not sure (Q.F7a).....	1		
Refused (Q.F7a).....	2		

F7c. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never.....	15	<b>[88]</b>	
Once a year.....	7		
A few times a year.....	18		
Once a month.....	9		
About twice a month.....	8		
Once a week or more often.....	40		
Not sure.....	3		

F8. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	11	<b>[89]</b>	
Labor union household.....	7		
Non-union household.....	80		
Not sure.....	1		

F9. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?

Yes, gun in household.....	42	<b>[90]</b>	
No, no gun in household.....	56		
Not sure.....	2		

F10a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic.....	9	[91]
No, not Hispanic.....	89	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F10b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	76	[92]
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	4	
Hispanic (VOL).....	5	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	5	[93]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	9	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	11	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	11	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	10	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	12	
More than \$100,000.....	15	
Not sure/refused.....	9	

F12a. Do you personally know or work with someone who is gay or lesbian?

Yes.....	62	CONTINUE	[94]
No.....	35	Skip to	
Not sure.....	3	Validation	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY YES IN Q.F12a.)**

F12b. Is that person yourself, a member of your family, a close friend, a co-worker, or an acquaintance?

Self.....	2	[95]
Family member.....	20	>
Close friend.....	29	
Co-worker.....	33	
Acquaintance.....	40	
Other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	